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- It seems very likely that Czechoslovakia will be formally incorporated into the USSR or that there will be some similar action which will have the same final results. Something has happened lately to cause the Kremlin to advance its schedule for the consolidation of its postwar territorial gains. This is probably the unexpected and obstinate resistance in Berlin, with its implications of armed conflict and its effect on the satellite peoples, who may get out of hand if the USSR does not move toward full incorporation. Such a move will probably be made to look spontaneous and in accordance with the will of the people and will have the appearance of complete legality. In considering the possibilities of incorporation the following factors deserve consideration:

a. General

The USSR, facing the prospect of a showdown with the West backed by force, can be expected to take all the steps necessary to prepare for such an eventuality. One such step certainly is the greatest possible consolidation of the satellite states.

b. Inducements for the USSR to Incorporate Czechoslovakia

- 1) The USSR, having failed to force the Western Powers out of Berlin, may apply pressure at other points where it is more assured of the success needed to restore the prestige it has lost.
- 2) Either incorporation of the satellite states or creation of some kind of east European union under the aegis of the USSR may be expected as a counter-maneuver to the formation of a western European union.
- 3) Incorporation of Czechoslovakia would enable the Soviet Union to take control to stop escapes and desertions, plug up the leakage of information to the West, and in general prevent Czechoslovakia from serving as a wedge into the Soviet orbit.

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4)

- 5) The new Five-Year Plan, which will be coordinated and integrated with the production schedules of the USSR, begins when the Two-Year Plan ends in late October. To keep up agricultural production it may be necessary to collectivize, and for this latter step complete control over the farm population will be necessary.

c. Factors Working for Acceptance of the Idea by the Czechs

- 1) Such key figures as Slansky, Cepicka, Duris, Nejedly, and Fierlinger support incorporation. Gottwald, Clementis, Nosek, and other moderate leaders will be purged if they do not go along.
- 2) Ardent Communists, led by their general acceptance of Communism, or anxious to demonstrate their fidelity, will support incorporation. A considerable segment of the population is apathetic enough to be willing to go along. Non-Communist elements have been rendered generally ineffective.
- 3) Czechoslovakia has been more or less written off by the Western Powers and is becoming increasingly isolated.

d. Deterrent Factors

- 1) Incorporation would result in alienation of many elements of the population. Too hasty consolidation and tightening of security have already made this apparent in Czechoslovakia. A large percentage of the Communist voters [] would be alienated by incorporation. (That alienation of some of the population of Czechoslovakia would probably be risked, however, is evident from open comment in Rude Pravo about work camps and other punitive measures.)
- 2) The USSR may now be convinced that the USA is ready to go to war if such a step is necessary to protect its own interests.

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